

I remember Mark Hatfield, a very senior Member of this body, from the State of Oregon, saying: I would vote for ANWR any day in the world if it meant not sending another American soldier overseas to fight a war in a foreign country over oil.

Well, the final word—and this is from Representative RALPH HALL, a Democrat from Texas, who said Tuesday in a speech before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce—and I quote:

I would drill in a cemetery if it kept my grandkids out of body bags.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

RESTORING A NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO MISSILE DEFENSE

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, in his recent address to Congress, President George W. Bush made it clear that, unlike his immediate predecessor, he strongly endorses the deployment of an effective missile defense system capable of protecting the United States, its allies and its forward deployed forces from the growing threat of missile attack. As someone who has long viewed the deployment of missile defense as an urgent national priority, I look forward to working with President Bush to achieve this vital national security goal for America.

March 23 marks the 18th anniversary of President Ronald Reagan's historic speech announcing his determination to see America build a defense against ballistic missiles. It is gratifying to know that Reagan's vision remains alive today. As Reagan said in 1983:

What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?

I know this is a formidable technical task, one that may not be accomplished before the end of this century. . . . It will take years, probably decades of effort on many fronts. There will be failures and setbacks, just as there will be successes and breakthroughs . . . as we pursue a program to begin to achieve our ultimate goal of eliminating the threat posed by strategic nuclear missiles.

Now, 18 years later, at the dawn of the new century, a renewed Presidential focus on missile defense is appropriate and necessary. The threat posed by ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction is very real and growing. And as we have seen over time, the technology to begin to meet this threat is available, if we will make the effort to aggressively develop it. Today, President Bush promises to do just that.

Unfortunately, the Clinton administration squandered most of the last 8 years, failing to build a proper foundation for the kind of robust missile defense development and deployment which the growing threat demands. Wedded to the outdated 1972 ABM Treaty, to the superstitions of arms control and to greatly reduced defense budgets, Clinton was consistently hostile to the

deployment of effective missile defense. Here is a quick year-by-year review of some of the highlights of the Clinton administration's dismal record on missile defense.

1993: cut \$2.5 billion from the Bush missile defense budget request for fiscal year 1994; halted all cooperation with Russia on a joint global missile defense program; terminated the Reagan-Bush Strategic Defense Initiative program; downgraded National Missile Defense to a research and development program only; cut 5-year missile defense funding by 54 percent from \$39 billion to \$18 billion; reaffirmed commitment to ABM Treaty, saying any defense must be "treaty-compliant."

1994: State Department official called the ABM treaty "sacred text," saying "arms control has more to offer our national security than do more weapons systems. We look first to arms control and second . . . to defenses;" declared Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) non-treaty compliant; placed self-imposed limits on THAAD testing to keep it "treaty-compliant."

1995: Placed self-imposed limits on Navy Upper Tier system to keep it "treaty compliant;" politicized National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) to downplay growing missile threat; vetoed Defense Authorization bill requiring missile defense deployment by 2003.

1996: Cut funding and slowed development of THAAD and Navy Theater-Wide systems, in defiance of the law—the Defense Authorization bill—requiring accelerated development; announced fraudulent "3-plus-3" program for national missile defense: three years to develop, plus three years to deploy. (Later changed to "5 plus 3," then "7 plus 3," then dropped the "plus 3"); reaffirmed ABM Treaty as the "cornerstone of strategic stability;" opposed and helped kill legislation calling for NMD deployment by 2003.

1997: signed ABM Treaty agreements with Russia which, if ratified by the Senate, would: (1) reaffirm the validity of the ABM Treaty banning effective national missile defense; (2) sharply limit the effectiveness of theater defense systems; and (3) ban space-based missile defenses.

Clinton never submitted these for ratification, knowing they would fail to get the needed 67 votes for ratification.

1998: opposed and helped kill legislation calling for NMD deployment "as soon as technologically possible;" disputed the Rumsfeld Commission's assessment of the growing missile threat, arguing that there was no need to accelerate missile defense deployment; on August 24, Joint Chiefs Chairman Henry Shelton wrote to me affirming his assurance that U.S. intelligence would detect at least three years' warning of any new rogue state ICBM threat; on August 31, one week later, North Korea surprised U.S. intelligence by testing a three-stage Taepo-Dong I missile with intercontinental range,

demonstrating critical staging technology and rudimentary ICBM capability.

1999: delayed by at least two years the Space Based Infrared System (SBIRS) satellites designed to detect and track missile launches necessary to coordinate with any effective national missile defense system; emasculated the Missile Defense Act of 1999—passed by veto-proof majorities in both houses—calling for deployment "as soon as technologically possible." In signing the bill into law, Clinton outrageously interpreted it to mean that no deployment decision had been made and that therefore he would make no change in his go-slow missile defense policy.

2000: cut funding for the Airborne Laser (ABL) program by 52 percent over 5-year period, but the cuts were later reversed by Congress; allowed Russia to veto U.S. missile defense plans by making NMD dependent on Russia's agreement to modify the ABM Treaty, but Russia would never agree; postponed the administration's long-awaited NMD deployment decision from June to September and then decided to defer any decision indefinitely to the next administration, insuring that the entire eight years of the Clinton presidency would pass without a commitment to deploy national missile defense.

The net result of this abysmal record is that America continues to remain completely vulnerable to missile attack, despite growing threats. In the 8 years of the Clinton administration, there was never a commitment to deploy national missile defense. Instead, there was a misguided ideological dedication to preserving the ABM Treaty, whose very purpose was to prohibit effective missile defense. In essence, the Clinton vision was exactly opposite of the Reagan vision.

Today, the threat grows. Proliferation of missile and weapons technology around the world proceeds at an accelerated pace. Under Clinton, weapons inspectors were kicked out of Iraq; Russia greatly increased its military assistance to China; China was caught stealing U.S. nuclear secrets; U.S. companies were given a green light to help improve the accuracy and reliability of China's nuclear missiles; China transferred missile and weapons technology to North Korea, Iran, Iraq and others; China threatened to absorb Taiwan; and China threatened to attack the United States with nuclear missiles.

The Rumsfeld Commission determined that new ICBM threats could emerge in the future "with little or no warning." The Cox Commission determined that Clinton covered up or presided over some of the most serious security breaches in U.S. history, affecting critical national secrets about virtually every weapon in our nuclear arsenal and numerous military-related high technologies.

The case for missile defense is more compelling today than it has ever been.

With a new President determined to set a new course, or rather to set us back to the course first articulated by President Reagan, there is reason for hope and optimism.

I urge President Bush to move quickly in forging a national commitment to the deployment of a robust global missile defense system capable of defending all 50 States, our allies and our forward deployed troops around the world. We should appropriate the necessary budgets. We should exploit all options and technologies. We should seriously consider an initial deployment at sea, using our proven Aegis ships and complementing it with important ground and spaced based systems.

In consultation with our allies, and while maintaining our nuclear deterrent, we should break free of the constraints of the outdated ABM Treaty and begin to fashion a security regime based, as Reagan said, on our ability "to save lives rather to avenge them." This is the legacy America deserves, consistent with Reagan's vision of courage, morality and security—a vision I know is shared by President George W. Bush.

SCORECARD OF HATRED

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, in just the last few weeks, two California high schools a few miles apart, suffered the same terrible fate when troubled students opened fire on both classmates and teachers. These remind of us of the many acts of gun violence committed by young people in American schools since the attack at Columbine High School almost 2 years ago. In last week's Time magazine, an article called "Scorecard of Hatred," lists in detail the many varied plans of copycat attacks since Columbine, including those planned by teenagers who, thankfully, failed in their attempts. Each of the more than 20 different attempts by young people to "pull a Columbine," the phrase that some teenagers now use to describe these acts of violence, is disturbing in its own right. As a whole, these acts are beginning to become an epidemic.

I often wonder why these acts of school violence are so uniquely American. The warning signs most commonly associated with teens who engage in school shootings—disturbing patterns of behavior, depression, increased fascination with violence, sometimes inappropriate living conditions—are no doubt experienced by teens in other countries. Yet, even though the gun shots at Columbine were witnessed by teens across the world, teens in other countries are not routinely committing terrible acts of school violence.

Last May, on the 1-year anniversary of the Columbine shootings, there was one act of copycat violence in Ottawa in the province of Ontario, Canada. According to an article in the Ottawa Citizen, a 15-year-old boy, who was teased mercilessly by his classmates, became

obsessed with the Columbine school massacre and the violent perpetrators of the tragic event. He posted pictures of the young men in his lockers and began counting down the days until the anniversary. But when the moment came, and the young boy in Canada attempted to carry out his copycat crime, instead of brandishing an arsenal of firearms, he brandished a kitchen knife. Instead of 15 dead and countless more injured, 5 people were stabbed, none with any life-threatening injuries.

In Littleton, CO and Ottawa, Canada, the circumstances were similar, but the outcomes were substantially different. It seems that the one crucial difference in this and other such incidences is not religion or music, entertainment, or peer influence, it is access to guns. In most of these school shootings in the United States, our young people have relatively easy access to guns. Here are some of the examples used in the Time magazine article: two 8th graders in California were found with a military-sniper rifle, a handgun, and 1500 rounds of ammunition; a 15-year-old in Georgia gained access his stepfather's rifle; a 7th grader from Oklahoma took his father's semiautomatic handgun; a 6-year-old in Michigan discovered a semiautomatic handgun; a 17-year-old in California amassed an arsenal of 15 guns as well as knives and ammunition; a 13-year-old in Florida picked up a semiautomatic handgun.

Mr. President, the lists goes on and on. We must do something to limit our youth's easy access to guns and end the epidemic of gun violence in our Nation's schools and community places.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the Time magazine article, Scorecard of Hatred.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Time magazine, Mar. 19, 2001]

SCORECARD OF HATRED

(By Amanda Bowen)

MAY 13, 1999—FOILED

Port Huron, Mich.

Their plan, police said, was to outdo Columbine perpetrators Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold by arming themselves, forcing the principal of Holland Woods Middle School to call an assembly and then killing teachers, classmates and themselves. Jedaiah (David) Zinzo and Justin Schnepf, both 14, made a list of 154 targets, stole a building plan from the school custodian's office and plotted to use one gun to steal more. Classmates caught wind of the plot and reported it to the assistant principal. Zinzo and Schnepf were sentenced to four years' probation.

MAY 19, 1999—FOILED

Anaheim, Calif.

When police searched the homes of two eighth-graders at South Junior High, they found two bombs, bombmaking materials, a military-surplus rifle, a Ruger Blackhawk .45-cal. handgun, 1,500 rounds of ammunition and Nazi paraphernalia. They were tipped off by a student who heard that the boys, whose names were not released, were threatening to blow up the school.

MAY 20, 1999

Conyers, Ga.

Thomas Solomon Jr., 15, aimed low with his stepfather's .22 rifle and wounded six fellow students at Heritage High School.

Warning Signs.—Solomon told classmates he would "blow up this classroom" and had no reason to live. He was being treated for depression and was teased by a popular sports player whom Solomon believed was the object of his girlfriend's affections.

AUG. 24, 1999—FOILED

Northeast Florida

Two teenagers were charged with conspiracy to commit second-degree murder after a teacher saw drawings, one of which depicted a bloody knife, a shotgun and an assault weapon. The teens allegedly described themselves as Satan worshippers and claimed they were planning to leave a deadlier trail than the one at Columbine. Charges were dropped for lack of evidence, and the boys were released from house arrest.

OCT. 28, 1999—FOILED

Cleveland, Ohio

Adam Gruber, 14, and John Borowski, Benjamin Balducci and Andy Napier, all 15, were white students planning a rampage at their mostly black school. It was to end, one of the boys' friends said, in a suicidal shoot-out with police, with one survivor to "bask in the glory." Officials were tipped off to the plot by another student's mother.

OCT. 24, 2000

Glendale, Ariz.

Sean Botkin dressed in camouflage, went to his old school, entered a math class and with a 9-mm handgun held hostage 32 former classmates and a teacher, police say. After an hour, the 14-year-old was persuaded to surrender.

WARNING SIGNS.—Botkin said in a television interview last month that he was picked on, hated school, had a troubled family life and couldn't recall ever being truly happy. "Using a gun would get the attention more than just walking into school and saying, 'I need help' or something," he said.

JAN. 10, 2001

Oxnard, Calif.

Richard Lopez, 17, had a history of mental illness, and police apparently believe he "had his mind made up to be killed by a police officer" when he marched onto the grounds of his old school, Hueneme High, took a girl hostage and held a gun to her head. Within five minutes of SWAT officers' arriving, he was shot dead. Lopez's sister said her brother had wanted to commit suicide, but his Catholic faith forbade it.

WARNING SIGNS.—Family members said Lopez had been in and out of juvenile facilities and attempted suicide three times. "He needed help, and I cried out for it," his grandmother said.

JAN. 29, 2001—FOILED

Cupertino, Calif.

The Columbine gunmen were "the only thing that's real," according to De Anza College sophomore Al Joseph DeGuzman, 19. He allegedly planned to attack the school with guns and explosive devices. The day before, however, he apparently photographed himself with his arsenal and took the film for developing. The drugstore clerk alerted police.

FEB. 5, 2001—FOILED

Hoyt, Kans.

Police were alerted to Richard B. Bradley Jr., 18, Jason L. Moss, 17, and James R. Lopez, 16, by an anonymous hot-line tip. A search of their homes revealed bombmaking material, school floor plans, a rifle, ammunition and white supremacist drawings, police